

# The Jammu and Kashmir Ordinance Rips Open the Hypocrisy of Bourgeois Politics

The Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Ordinance promulgated by the Abdullah government, prior to that the Prevention of Public Disorder Ordinance of the Madhya Pradesh Janata government, the excuses offered by both the governments, the very nature and purpose of their draconian measures—all reminiscent of the autocratic Indira regime and the open support and approval of the Central Government to these steps so also the attitude of other social democratic parliamentary parties—all this calls for most serious and urgent attention of all democratic minded people of our country who are genuinely interested to restore, preserve and further extend fundamental and democratic rights and liberties of the people.

## The Ordinance

The Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Ordinance, 1977 was published in Gazette Extraordinary on 29th October just four days after the talks between Sri Jyoti Basu and Sheikh Abdullah ended over the question of extension of autonomy and power of the states in general and the special status of Kashmir, in particular. The Press was, however, kept in the dark about this measure for eight days, till on 6th November.

The ordinance empowers the government to detain an individual without communicating the grounds of detention, if it is considered not to be disclosed in the public interest. Secondly, an individual may be held for a period upto two years without placing his case before an advisory board. There is no bar on the issue of a second detention order after the expiry or revocation of the first. Thirdly, the ordinance empowers the government to prohibit the circulation of newspapers published inside or outside the state, if in the opinion of it, they contain "prejudicial reports". Fourthly, it also empowers the government to declare any area as "protected" on the plea of "interest of defence" or "security of the state" and regulate entry into such an area. Contravention is punishable with imprisonment upto two months or fine or both. Fifthly, the government is authorised to regulate the movement of an individual within the

state "if it is considered necessary or expedient to do so". The government can also, by an order, prohibit the entry of any person into any town, city or area. Sixthly, the government may by general or special order, prohibit or restrict group or collective action of persons, their movement or drill of a militant nature, as may be specified. Seventhly, the ordinance defines 'prejudicial act' and 'prejudicial report' to control the activities of individuals and the Press respectively in a manner that under its broad sweep, any action or writing can be brought under the purview of these definitions.

The definition of 'prejudicial act' is verbatim reproduction of the Emergency provisions. It has been defined as "any act which is intended or likely to prejudice the state's relations with the union of India or other states in the union or maintenance of public order and peaceful conditions in the state; to cause disaffection among public servants or to prejudice, prevent or interfere with recruitment, discipline or training or performance of their duties, to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of citizens of the state or of the union of India."

A "prejudicial report" is defined as "any report, statement or visible representation, whether true or false, which or the publishing of which is an incitement to the commission of a prejudicial act."

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# Proletarian Era

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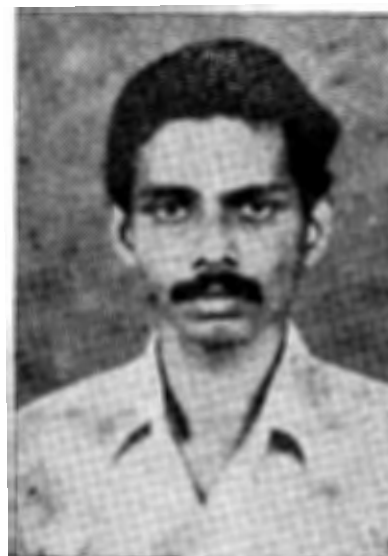
THURSDAY

Air Surcharge 4 P.

## Red Salute Comrade V. Natarajan

The sudden and premature death of Comrade V. Natarajan, a very important member of the Kerala State Organising Committee and the Secretary of the Quilon District Organising Committee of our Party on 13th December, 1977 at Benjiges Hospital, Quilon has come as a rude shock to all of us. He was suffering from Amoebic Hepatitis and Pneumonitis.

Comrade Natarajan came in touch with the great revolutionary thoughts and teachings of our beloved leader, teacher and guide and an outstanding Marxist Philosopher of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh when he was a student of the final year Engineering.



The great teachings of Comrade Ghosh opened a new chapter of life and imbued him with the revolutionary object of life. The moment he realised the necessity of revolution and for that purpose the necessity of

building the Socialist Unity Centre of India, the only Communist Party in India, Comrade Natarajan at once came forward, giving up his bright academic career, to shoulder this most noble and great task of building the Party in Kerala, whole heartedly.

In course of his relentless and uncompromising struggle, covering all aspects of life for ultimately identifying his personal interest with the interest of the Party and revolution, Comrade Natarajan acquired such a high standard of revolutionary consciousness and culture that right from the very beginning of the formation of the Party in Kerala, he lived in the

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## Save The Cyclone Victims

—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

General Secretary, SUCI

Calls upon the People

In a statement issued on 9th December Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the SUCI, has demanded of the Central Government and State Government concerned to take all responsibilities to save the cyclone stricken people of Andhra and Tamil Nadu by rushing relief, economic rehabilitation and full compensation

on war footing. He has also appealed to the people of all sections to be generous in sending their all kinds of help and co-operation to Andhra Pradesh DSO (the students wing of SUCI) at 67/97 Fort Kurnul which is collecting every possible help from the people and is engaged in relief work there.

## AIDSO rushes relief squad in Andhra

Kurnul: AIDSO has organised relief squad to rush help to cyclone victims. All its units are collecting money, medicine and clothes and are receiving warm response from the people.

# Crisis-ridden Indian bourgeoisie takes refuge to the old draconian Acts through their new alternatives

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People of our country by now, already conversant with the traumatic experience with the Emergency provisions including those of the ordinance on pre-censorship of newspapers and journals can find in all these provisions, their exact reproduction. In fact, a spokesman of the Central Government admitted (Statesman 8.11.77) that these provisions were not at variance with the basic features of 1971 Law passed by the Centre on preventive detention after the external emergency had been promulgated in the country. When a correspondent pointed to the chapter in the ordinance on banning of newspapers, the spokesman of the Central Government said that a similar provision existed in the law passed by the Jammu and Kashmir Government before the Defence of India Act had been promulgated.

In sum and substance, therefore, by this particular ordinance, the Jammu and Kashmir Government has brought to life, in the state, all the anti-democratic autocratic provisions and measures of the Emergency period and of the Defence of India Act although both the 'internal' and 'external' Emergency declarations as also the Defence of India Act have been formally withdrawn and as such are no longer in force.

## The particular pretext or the background of this move

Just like the Madhya Pradesh Government's preventive detention ordinance, the J & K Government has brought the Emergency provisions by the backdoor just picking an occasion to use it as a so-called pretext. In Madhya Pradesh, it was the threatened strike of the electricity workers that prompted, it is said, the government of Janata Party there, to resort to provision which has been

rightly dubbed by the people as a 'mini MISA'. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, the Abdullah Government introduced ban on the entry into the state of two Jullandar dailies — *Hind Samachar* and *Punjab Kesari*, under sec. 25 of the Jammu and Kashmir Customs Act, 1958. The editors of both these papers challenged this order, being violative of fundamental rights in the Supreme Court. The Jammu and Kashmir Government, sensing difficulty at the court suddenly withdrew the ban on the papers and instead brought this ordinance which would take the government beyond the pale of judicial intervention. According to the Indian Constitution, the state of Jammu and Kashmir enjoys a special status in as much as the restrictions on fundamental rights and liberties of individuals within the state are not a subject for law courts but the legislature is competent to pronounce "what these reasonable restrictions are". So, the Abdullah Government seeks to bypass judicial process and reimpose, in effect, newspaper censorship and arrogate to itself dictatorial authority and powers to deny fundamental and democratic rights and liberties of the citizens as were done during the Emergency and against which the people have given their clear verdict.

## The Central Government comes in defence

It is now obvious from the observations and defence of the official spokesman of the Central Government (Statesman 8.11.77.) and the suggestions emanating from the Jammu and Kashmir minister's meetings with the Prime Minister and the Law Minister that the state Government of Jammu and Kashmir had consulted the Centre in this matter and got the green signal before bringing the ordinance.

The State Finance Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Thakur met

both the Prime Minister and the Law Minister at New Delhi on 15th November. Mr. Desai suggested to him that the maximum period of preventive detention be made less than two years as has been provided in the ordinance. Mr. Shantibhusan, on his part, has given his advice that if, "in the public interest", the reason for detention can not be disclosed to the court, at least the provision be incorporated so as to communicate the ground of detention to "an advisory board composed of three persons who have been or are qualified to be appointed as judges of the High Court". Obviously, all these suggestions offered by Central Janata Ministers to the Jammu and Kashmir Government are not meant to touch the fundamental principles of democratic rights about which they were so much vociferous till the other day but just to give an air of plausibility and assuage the bitter feelings of the people. No wonder, the State's Minister could read the mind of the Central Ministers correctly and assured in a Press Conference at New Delhi that the State Government would give due consideration to their suggestions when the ordinance would be formalised as an enactment in the legislature. He also made it clear that there was no question of confrontation with the Centre on the issue as the State Government had already discussed with the officials of the Central Government before promulgating the ordinance.

(Statesman 16.11.77.)

Before this, a Central Government spokesman came in open defence of this measure of Jammu and Kashmir Government by holding that the ordinance was necessary to fill "some legal vacuum" after the Emergency provisions and the Defence of India Act were no longer in force. He gave a clear hint to

and Kashmir Government's special status, the parliament had no power during normal times, to enact any law on preventive detention for that state.

The most interesting part of the Centre's defence is that connecting this step of the Jammu and Kashmir Government with the preceding talks between its Chief Minister with his counterpart in West Bengal, the Central Government's spokesman defended the 'autonomy' of the states in the matter of 'law and order' by holding that the Centre could not dispute the need for a law of preventive detention if a state wanted to enact such a law as "in a federal set up, the states are competent within their own areas". And "reasonable laws of preventive detention might be needed in other parts of countries also" and that "preventive detention was not the same as MISA".

The Central Government spokesman also provided the line of defence for the state of Jammu and Kashmir. He defended on the so-called ground of "security and public order" and particularly "the need to regulate the presence of unauthorised foreigners". The next day, Sheikh Abdullah gave the same defence at a press conference in Srinagar.

## Role of Janata Party and CPI(M)

The different parliamentary parties have not been lagging in denouncing this ordinance both inside and outside the Parliament but such denouncement has been in the nature of being a just formality. The Janata Party leader in Kashmir has gone as far as to say that "while all black and undemocratic laws have been done away with elsewhere in the country and constant efforts are being made to restore free and democratic atmosphere" the recent promulgation is violative of this spirit and is bound to curb freedom of the press and of individuals. The Congress leaders also did not fail to shed tears for the democratic

rights and liberties of the people. A few relevant points are therefore to be taken serious note of to get at the truth.

The Janata Party leaders in the Jammu and Kashmir State are vocal against the ordinance but they are silent on the point that it is their government at the Centre that has not only approved of this measure but is providing the line of defence. It is also encouraging other states to tread the same path. The Janata Government at the centre has not yet withdrawn draconian and authoritarian laws like MISA, DIR etc. of the Indira regime. Rather going back on its electoral promises, it is now proposing preventive detention law in place of MISA and is not withdrawing wholesale but just revising the 42nd amendment by retaining what it calls "certain good aspects" of the hated Act against which the people of the country have given their unequivocal verdict. Not only this, changing its position as regards the promise of wiping out the provision for internal emergency from the Constitution, it now comes with a revised version of it whereby the most autocratic rule can be imposed in any part of the country for six months, to start with, in the name of quelling a 'rebellion'. So, by this provision any militant democratic movement can be dubbed as a rebellion and be crushed with the help of the coercive apparatus under cover of defending 'law and order'. Secondly, is it not a fact that it is the Janata Governments in different states and more particularly in the Madhya Pradesh that are setting up records, one after another, in the matter of introducing or pursuing draconian and most anti-democratic acts and measures including brutal suppression of legitimate democratic movements to the serious detriment of people's fundamental and democratic rights and liberties which governments run by other parties are following as if to maintain a rule of conformity?

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# Role of CITU in West Bengal

After long thirty years of Congress misrule and specially after the harrowing experiences of the nineteen months of Emergency, with the installation of Janata Party Government at the Centre and the 'Left Front' Government in the state, working people expected that at least the reign of terror and repression would now come to an end and that they would get back the minimum democratic rights to organise their legitimate movements against the onslaughts of the capitalists. Within, however, the last few months, that expectation of the people has been belied.

It is not only true about the Janata Government at the Centre but also in regard to the State Government. As regards forcible suppression of legitimate democratic movements of the working people, while the Janata Government is behaving in the manner by drowning them in the blood of the workers, true to the expectation and desire of the ruling bourgeois class who propped up this class alternative to the Congress in its new device of two-party system, the 'Left Front' and more particularly the CPI(M), the chosen alternative of the bourgeoisie at the regional level is doing exactly what the bourgeoisie expects of it. Rather they are doing it in a better way, in a more sophisticated manner as concrete examples will reveal.

From the day of assumption of power, it has virtually banned militant mass movement and not only that, they tell the workers in unmistakable terms that strike or movement should be the 'last resort' after exhausting all the time-consuming and harrassing conciliation procedures. It means, the 'Left Front' Government wants to confine trade union movement within the confines of legalism-reformism much to the relief and advantage of the capitalist class and thus ensure 'peace' in industrial field so that the capitalists get the least resistance from the workers in perpetrating their grinding exploitation.

The sophistication of CPI(M) lies in the fact that in ensuring this 'peace' in

industrial field behind the smokescreen of tall claims and left vocabularies they not only use the police and administrative machinery but also use as underhand machinery, the arm of their trade union wing, CITU to browbeat and dampen the struggling zeal of the workers. This they are doing so efficiently that the bourgeois press is advising other State Governments to emulate.

CPI(M)'s trade union wing CITU is displaying a queer contrast in its role and activities in different states now. This is to serve the role, the party wants it to play in its quest for power in the Government at the Centre, as the defender of the system and bourgeois class interest. So, in states where CPI(M) is yet to be entrusted with to run the government, its trade union wing CITU is posing its so-called militant posture as a champion of workers' demands and rights and in doing this, it is organising so-called militant and at times adventurist activities in order to capture union and worker's following. But CITU's role is completely different where CPI(M) is in government as is the case of West Bengal. Here, it is no longer the vociferous champion of worker's demands and rights rather here, it takes upon it as a duty to dissuade the workers from the path of strike or movement. It is playing the role as an enforcing agent of the Government's policy of industrial 'peace' and 'discipline' in addition to the same work being done by police and administra-

tion. In discharging its role as an arm in trade union field of CPI(M), CITU in this state is actively opposing militant struggle of the workers and other forms of struggle, in league with management and the government. The concrete examples, we cite here are just to pick two or three from among numerous such instances.

Take for example the heroic fight of the employees of the Coal Washeries under the Hindustan Steel and backstabbing of it by the CITU leadership jointly with the HMS and INTUC vis-a-vis the resolute fight of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) affiliated union in defence of the workers' interest.

From 18th October last the workers and employees of all the coal washeries and their offices at Dhanbad and Calcutta went on indefinite strike with the demand of 20% bonus. After the failure of all attempts to resolve the issue across the table with the authority, the Co-ordination Committee formed jointly by the three unions under HMS, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and CITU in coal washeries gave the call of their strike. The strike call received tremendous response from the workers and the workers showed remarkable unity in their struggle to such an extent that even the INTUC led union which kept itself outside the movement and the Co-ordination Committee found no other alternative but to join the strike. But how did the Janata Government at the Centre and the 'Left Front' Government in the state respond to this just and legitimate movement of the workers? The Janata Government declared the strike illegal. The 'Left Front' Government went a few steps forward. It promulgated 144 cr. p.c. in the area which the Janata Party led Government in Bihar did not do although coal washeries in adjoining districts of Bihar were covered by this strike. The Government of West Bengal picked the occasion to mount police attack on

the trade union of Bhajudih washery at Santaldih of Purulia District in West Bengal, affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani). Police arrested Comrade M. S. Thakur, the Assistant General Secretary of the union and Comrade Karan, another important organiser. This failed to have the expected result. On the contrary, the workers by their militant solidarity wrested the release of their leaders from the police authority. So, the unique distinction of setting police to arrest the leaders and let loose reign of terror over the striking workers as also clamping 144 cr. p.c. to break the strike has been earned by CPI(M) led ministry in West Bengal when its counterpart in Bihar led by the Janata Party could not go that much in this particular instance.

But when government machinery failed, need was felt to work from other side, from within the movement. CITU leadership was entrusted with the job. The local CITU leadership along with that of HMS, met secretly at New Delhi with the Steel Authority and gave the promise of withdrawing strike when the striking workers were showing fine struggling spirit. This treachery of the CITU and HMS came to light at the meeting of the Co-ordination Committee. They brought this proposal of withdrawal of strike at the committee but met strongest of condemnation and opposition from the representative of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and rank and file workers of their own unions and the move was thus totally defeated.

But even though being thus rebuffed by the workers, CITU and HMS campaigned among the workers that the strike had been withdrawn. UTUC (Lenin Sarani) stood by the side of the workers at this hour of betrayal by the leadership of CITU and HMS, workers rallied behind the struggling banner of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and invited leaders like Comrades Fatick Ghosh and Sitesh Dasgupta

Secretaries of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) to lead and guide them. CITU led union workers invited them to address meetings organised on their behalf. Strike struggle continued. But CITU was yet to give finishing touch to their mischiefs. To cap all of such deeds, they withdrew the strike from Dhanbad Head Office where they control the union. This act of gross betrayal of withdrawing strike in unions controlled by them, reminiscent of such instances during the Railway Strike of 1974, even failed to demoralise the workers. In Dugdah washery, only six out of 2500 workers and none of the Bhajudih washeries joined duty. In the meantime, having almost exhausted all their resources at command, overt and covert, the Steel Ministry came down from the high pedestal of arrogance and command and showed the spirit of acceptance to some extent, the just demands of the workers. In the circumstances, considering all aspects, the strike was withdrawn on 31st October last.

The glorious strike struggle of the coal washeries under Steel Authority both in Bengal and Bihar is indicative and has gone a long way as an eye opener to the working class movement. The essential prerequisite of correct leadership over and above the justifiability and legitimacy of demands of the workers, for the success of the struggle is once more glaringly vindicated. A movement with so much possibility and promise had to be cut short, meeting half way the immediate object of the struggle. This was for the only reason of the acts of treachery on the part of CITU in particular which was able to hide its real character so long, from the workers. Disillusionment is coming and will be coming no doubt, to the workers but that disillusionment can only attain the real objective in the concrete shape of developing and strengthening the

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# Non-Left Policies of the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal

It is now about six months since the CPI(M) led "Left Front" assumed governmental power in West Bengal. The CPI(M) leaders are claiming that what they have done during these six months for the toiling people is simply unprecedented. Their 'pro-people' steps and measures on the question of Food, Land Reforms, Harvesting, Labour, their programme for the recovery of Benam Lands—all these—they claim—have created tremendous enthusiasm among the toiling people of this state and have taken away the sleep of the jotedars, black marketeers and the vested class.

Let us see how far their claims are justified and whom their policies, claimed to be progressive, are serving in reality.

We know ours is a capitalist system and exploitation by capital still continues to exist even when a genuine revolutionary party assumes power in a bourgeois government. Under the circumstances, what should be the outlook of a revolutionary party towards the movements of the working class? Should the revolutionary party, just like a bourgeois party serve the interest of the bourgeoisie, the capitalists-industrialists and allow police and administration to suppress the movements or should it inspire and help to develop mighty movements of the toiling people keeping the legitimate democratic movements free from police interference? Naturally, if the party in governmental power is a genuine left party, let alone a revolutionary party, it should follow the latter path.

That is why our party, in 1967 under the leadership and guidance of our great departed leader, put before the United Front the principle that "Police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic movements", as a condition of our joining the ministry. And this policy was implemented by Com. Subodh Banerjee as the Labour Minister in the government.

But what outlook CPI(M) is reflecting and what policy it is pursuing? On the very day of victory celebration of the "Left Front" Government on 27th June this year Sri Jyoti Basu, the Chief Minister designate declared that although "class differences and class conflicts

are natural in a capitalist society" they will see that "in the interest of West Bengal's economy" they "will seek to ensure that the conflicts do not intensify", the right to strike should be used by the workers as the "ultimate weapon". Obviously, this is an approach not of any encouragement but of positive discouragement to legitimate democratic movements.

Persuant to this approach the "Left Front" Government has not reiterated in its policy declaration that "police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic movements". But at the same time at a conference of police officials, the Chief Minister has given them the "guide line" that police will go to maintain "law and order". The administration has made no mistake in reading the real intention of the Government. It is behaving in the same manner to defend the "law and order" as it was doing during the Congress Government. In fact, cases of police interference in legitimate trade union activities are on the increase as days are passing.

Not only this. CITU, the trade union wing of CPI(M) is helping, this way or that way, the police administration and the management of industries to oppose and obstruct the legitimate movement of the struggling workers. A few examples of this role of CITU we have given in a separate article in this issue.

Whom are they serving then? The CPI(M) is claiming that they have established peace in the industrial sector—it is so

peaceful that no other government could ever offer such a congenial atmosphere for the industrialists in any other states.

But who can be proud of such a performance? A genuine revolutionary party whose aim is to emancipate the down trodden people from the grips and tentacles of capitalist exploitation? Certainly not. Only a bourgeois party or a pseudo-left party that aims at protecting the interest of the capitalist class, particularly at this hour of crisis of the system, to the detriment of the interest of the toiling people, can claim this as a creditable performance. And the CPI(M) by their very claim has exposed their real character.

What about the performance of the "Left Front" Government in the rural side? Three important questions are inter-related and inter-dependent here. They are: 1) the Land Reform measures 2) the harvesting policy and 3) the food policy or the policy of procurement of paddy. In the capitalist economy as of ours, these policies relate to production, distribution and fair share to labour.

Before dealing with the particular measures that the 'Left Front' Government has brought and which they laud as progressive, let us have a hurried glance at the real state of affairs in the countryside. During the long thirty year's rule of the Congress, a vicious circle of vested interest comprising the jotedars and other vested interest in league with O. C., B.D.O and J. L. R.O, has not only grown but has become so much powerful that even the Food Minister of the 'Left-Front' Government had to concede that the government feared them. Not only this, the earlier Congress Government as also the present government both have confessed that because of the reign

of terror and persecution of the rural vested interest, most of the share-croppers could not record their right in the settlement record of the state. According to government statistics which should always be taken with a grain of salt only about 8 lakhs could record their right out of an estimated 35 lakhs of share croppers in the state. Why they could not do it? They could not do it because of two reasons. First because of the manipulation of records by the government officials bribed by the jotedars and secondly, because of abject poverty and absolute dependence of the poor peasants on the jotedars they did not dare incurring the displeasure of the rich on the apprehension of losing their right as share croppers in their lands. So, except in pockets of organised peasant movements, the poor peasants agricultural labourers and the share-croppers do not dare challenge the rich peasants.

Any reform brought simply by change of laws alone and that too depending on the same government administration, which is a party to the rural vested interest, for implementation are bound to end in fiasco serving in reality the vested interest. That is why, however much Sm. Gandhi clamoured as an achievement of Emergency, the abolition of bonded labour from the bondage of exploitation proves to be sticky as those who suffer did not dare demand relief lest they lost even the small pittance they were having from the sharks of rural vested interest.

Because of this social reality and from the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the great teacher of the proletariat, reminded us, while setting down the guiding principle of a government led by the leftists that even in case of bringing

necessary reforms, if they are to be really enforced and are not mere some pious wishes written in enactments, the government will have to encourage organised mass movements. The government will have to rely on these democratic movements and collective initiatives of the toiling people to enforce the reforms. It must shun the bourgeois outlook and habit of bringing some changes in the laws and sending instructions to the bureaucracy for following them. Because, in a class divided bourgeois society neither law and law courts nor the bureaucracy are above class, rather they all defend and serve the bourgeois class interest. So, people's initiative and mass movement is the force which must act as instrument of bringing changes or reforms and 'legitimacy' not 'legality' should be the criterion for the desirability of such change. It was the memorable utterance of Comrade Ghosh that "what is legal may not be always justified and moral. Similarly, everything illegal in the eye of law is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral" carries in it the essence of social reality and provides the correct guideline for a government which is genuinely interested to bring about a change in the situation and not simply to perpetuate the most unjust and exploitative capitalist order.

In the concrete context of this reality, let us now see what are the specific policies of the 'Left Front' Government particularly in the countryside and what are their real worth.

The truth will be revealing if one takes a brief account of this government's land reforms policy which it advertises as something unprecedented in our country! What are these reform measures? Before dealing with these measures we need to mention in passing, that CPI(M) and other constituents of the Front

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# In a Bourgeois Society the Aim of "Law and Order" is to Defend the Rule of Capital

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all agreed with our stand when they were in opposition that what was now needed about land reforms was a comprehensive and not a piece-meal legislation. But strangely however, in the last session of the Assembly, the Land Revenue Minister brought a bill containing four amendments to the old Act. Incidentally we hear that the CPI(M) is circulating a slander campaign against our party that our MLAs within the West Bengal Assembly walked out along with Congress, Janata and Muslim league when the West Bengal (Amendment) Land Reforms Bill was being debated. It is also interesting that Statesman, the mouth piece of monopoly houses like Tata also circulated this untruth in an editorial comment "Conflicting Interests" of December 12, 77.

The fact is that Comrade Renupado Halder demanded in the assembly that first the notorious chain of jotedar-police-administration be broken by encouraging and protecting legitimate democratic movement of the poor and lower middle peasants; secondly, instead of this piece-meal legislation a comprehensive legislation on land reforms be brought and thirdly, the bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion. Our representatives did not stage a n'y walkout. The Secretary of West Bengal State Committee, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta has since sent a letter to the Statesman, protesting against the circulation of this slander of CPI(M) through the editorial comment. Now these are the amendments that have been brought by the 'Left Front' Government: a) the onus of proving that the tiller is a share-cropper will lie with the owner of the land, b) If it is not proved that the land has been tilled by hired labour or members of the family or the owner it will be proved that the tillers of the land are the

share-croppers, c) the share croppers are to record their rights and d) receipts are to be given, without fail, to the share-croppers by the owners. But this is nothing new as almost on the same line reform measures were brought by the Congress but to no effect because of the reasons we have dealt with before. Will it be difficult for the jotedars to extract a contract as they usually do from the share croppers, to show as a legal document and by false evidence that they were not share croppers but labours employed on some specific terms and conditions? This has been the usual practice for the last thirty years. Secondly, what would happen to the overwhelming number of share-croppers who could not record their right? Do the jotedars feel any sort of obligation or legal compulsion to accept them as share-croppers? Or the entire matter is left to their good wishes? Thirdly, is it also difficult to prove on pain of eviction that the share-croppers are either 'hired labour' or the relatives of the owner of the land and thus elude the law? Fourthly, destitution of the peasantry remaining, unemployment and want of regular and assured jobs throughout the year remaining, remaining the dominance of the clique of rural vested interest can any change be brought about by change of laws and depending on bureaucracy in the rural scene? No, it can not. The 'Left Front' dares not touch the vested interest nor is it in any way, willing to encourage and patronise the mass initiative and the organised movement of the poor and middle peasant. Rather it shows its obsessive interest in keeping 'law and order' in the rural side just as in the industrial field. The 'peaceful' revolution without touching the vested interest, without organising mass

initiative and legitimate movement, the 'Left Front' preaches and practises and asks the people to put faith on. What difference, notwithstanding high sounding vocabularies and tall claims has it got in outlook and approach from those of the Congress and Janata Party? The most astounding feat of the 'Left Front' Government is its land revenue policy. It has exempted 4 and 6 acres of lands in irrigated and non-irrigated areas but has not extended this exemption beyond the current year to those middle class families, who because of partition of properties or destitution will come under this category on the so-called plea of plugging the loophole of land transfer by the jotedars. Secondly, it has imposed enhanced revenue by 150 P.C. compared to 1969-70 at a flat rate over the exemption ceiling. It has not even accepted the proposal that our party placed to the second United Front Government of 1969-70 for introducing a graded rate of revenue proportionate to landholdings, that is to say, higher the landholdings, higher the rate of revenue or taxation. This is what even the bourgeois economy calls a progressive taxation but not acceptable to the 'Left Front' Government. Surely it can claim to surpass the branded bourgeois parties on the principle of equity! Let us simply touch upon now their declared food policy which needs elaborate analysis. We will do that, in a later issue but let us comment, in passing, that this policy is not only not a bit different from the previous policy of the Congress but even fails to go to the extent of bringing wholesale trade in food-grains under state's control although that was the declared stand of CPI(M) and in our opinion, even which fails to check the speculative price manipulation or prices of food-grains as there is no difficulty for the wholesalers

to turn into retailers overnight.

Let us take now the most burning question at this moment when harvesting is going on, we mean the policy it has declared about harvesting of paddy. The 'Left Front' Government has raised the slogan: "He who has tilled the land, shall have the right to harvest." On the face of it, it sounds very good. But is it really so? Take for instance the case of 27 lakhs of share-croppers, out of a total of 35 lakhs who, according to the very admission of the government could not record their right. What would happen to them? What guarantee, the government has provided for their fair share in crops, they have grown with their toil?

Absolutely none. Secondly comes the case of those poor peasants who were allotted lands recovered from the jotedar's benami lands aggregating to estimated 6 lakhs acres during the last United Front Government but more than half of which have since been recaptured by force or litigation by the jotedars? The 'Left Front' Government was installed some six months back but what steps it has taken since then to set right this depredation of jotedars? Absolutely nothing. The poor peasants expected that the 'Left Front' would do this minimum justice to them but that hope melts in the thin air when they see that before their very eyes the jotedars protected under this slogan as also by police take hold of the grains and legitimise their illegitimate claims, and they, the poor peasants are being asked to maintain "law and order" by the Chief Minister as also the President of the 'Left Front' Committee, both members of the Polit-Bureau of CPI(M). Not only this, CPI(M) leaders and workers are giving full backing and arranging police support to the jotedars and vested interest in depriving the just claims

and rights of the poor peasants and share-croppers who are standing in resistance of their just claims. They are being arrested and harassed by police and administration under cover of maintaining "law and order". Thirdly, in a capitalist economy where capital rules, because of the destitution which is ever growing, the distressed peasants are bound in so many ways, legal trappings or otherwise, by the dictating terms of the rich peasants. Under the circumstances, without taking into account all these complexities a blanket order of 'he who has tilled the land shall have the harvest', instead of doing good to the poor peasants may cause harm to their interest. Fourthly, who is to determine the actual tillers? Surely the J.L.R.O., B.D.O. and the O.C. to whom it has been left to decide by the government. Who are they? Do they serve the poor peasants or are in the service of the rich peasants and rural vested interest? Is the answer unknown to the 'Left Front' ministers and particularly to the Land Revenue Minister, a veteran leader of CPI(M)'s peasant front? What steps they took to safeguard the rights and interests of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers?

They have constituted Bloc Level Committee with the Front's constituents and the CPI, the Congress and the Janata Party along with the BDO, JLRO and OC, the BDO having the statutory power but excluding only our party from this committee. Explaining the real intention or the motive working behind this move, Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of our Party has said in his statement issued to the Press:

"It is known to all that in rural areas, the jotedars and the vested interests in collusion with the police and the administration constitute a very powerful

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# While Janata Party openly defends, CPI(M) calls these anti-people measures 'unfortunate'

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Not only this, even the so-called logic that is being provided by Janata Party spokesmen in these states is just echoing the line of argument of the Congress leaders during the Indira regime. Mr. Kailash Joshi, the Chief Minister of the Madhya Pradesh, in an interview (Sunday, November 6, '77) has defended the ordinance which has been dubbed as 'mini MISA' by holding: "We issued the ordinance to meet an extra-ordinary situation. The electrical workers had threatened a total strike....It would have been a disaster for the state and no administration could have permitted such a thing to happen." The same kind of plea, almost the same expression as Sm. Indira Gandhi did make in meeting the Railway Strike of 1974. Thirdly, the Central Government is floating a dangerous line of deception by holding "preventive detention is not MISA". The Central Law Minister, Mr. Shantibhusan, as reported in the press, is now busy drafting a 'model' law on preventive detention which the states may be asked to adopt. It is therefore obvious that whatever might have been the stand of Mr. Shantibhusan when he was arguing before the Supreme Court, it changes with the change of his position. Yesterday's opposition is today's ruling party but the plea for and the manner of defence of the same very anti-democratic authoritarian measures remain unchanged. This is what these bourgeois parties call "the rule of the game" that remains and will remain so long the system which all these parties serve, remains. This is the warning that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our great departed leader was giving to the toiling people before and even during the Emergency. Comrade Ghosh was asking the toiling people to be clear in their mind that those who were raising the slogans against

the Indira regime for its autocracy, and were vociferous for restoration of democratic rights and liberties would themselves stand in defence of undemocratic steps and measures if and when voted to power and be setting newer and newer curbs on people's legitimate democratic movements as all these parties being the parties of *status quo* would inevitably stand in defence of the capitalist system which was crisis-ridden and chaos discredited. This may sound prophetic today but nonetheless it was nothing other than reminding the people of the truth that a revolutionary leadership grasps and tells the people to grasp, drawing lessons from history and the law of social development. This revolutionary guidance stands in marked contrast to the myth that is being propagated by persons from Mr. Morarji Desai down to CPI(M) leaders that "democracy has been restored" or that "a qualitative change" has come about in so far as democratic rights and liberties are concerned.

Now, we come to the question as to the role of CPI(M) particularly in the background of the Mr. Jyoti Basu's long talks with Sheikh Abdullah for days, in Srinagar immediately preceding to the promulgation of this ordinance.

After his long parley with Sheikh Abdullah on the question of Centre-State relation in general and more particularly the special status of Jammu and Kashmir state, in a statement issued to the Press in Calcutta, on 28th October, (Statesman, 29th October '77) Mr. Jyoti Basu said that both he and Abdullah agreed that "more effective powers in the political, financial and economic spheres" should be given to the states.

The CPI(M) recognised, goes the statement, the special status of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union. Article 370 which awarded this

status to that state still existed but the "way it had been worked by the Congress leaders at the Centre had raised grave doubts among the people of the state". The doubts should be removed, Mr. Basu said. According to Press report also (Statesman 27.10.77) during his halt at New Delhi, on his way back, Mr. Basu had met the Union Law Minister, Mr. Shantibhusan and was assured by the latter that talks might be held on these subjects.

Would it be therefore wrong to presume that Mr. Basu was in the know of the thing that the Jammu and Kashmir Government was bringing such an ordinance, invoking its special status and position? If not, then why was he silent on the issue till the news came out in the Press? Was it not, therefore, his duty, being a member of the polit bureau of a 'Marxist' party as also the Chief Minister of a 'Left Government' to clarify, particularly in the background of the talks that although they stood for the special status of the Jammu and Kashmir Government that did not mean any support to that special status being utilised to take away fundamental and democratic rights and liberties of the people? Why, instead of this principled and unequivocal stand, Mr. Basu was so much solicitous about the special status of Jammu and Kashmir Government and was urging the Centre to dispel doubt on any count in this regard? Was he not, in this particular context, advocating, in effect, for the 'autonomy', if it can be called at all an autonomy, of bringing to life the emergency powers within the state of Jammu and Kashmir? Even Mr. Basu's reaction to this ordinance, as reported to the Press, is quite revealing. He, it has been reported, said that the Jammu and Kashmir Government had done but his Government would not do so. Was the matter so simple and innocuous as to

draw such mildest of reactions from the Chief Minister of the 'Left Front' Government and a member of the polit bureau of a 'Marxist' Party? Where is the forthright condemnation of the move? Why not a vehement opposition from the 'Left' Government to the Centre, demanding its scrapping? Why not a call to the people to rise in resolute resistance to the move of bringing to life all the authoritarian provisions of the Emergency? These are the most pertinent questions and matters of real concern to any genuine lover of democratic rights and principles, let alone to the Marxist-Leninists. It is of course a different thing if to Mr. Basu "more powers in political, economic and financial spheres" are what really matter and it is a non-issue as to what purpose they are used.

If this is so, then surely he can draw pleasure that the Janata Party at the Centre has taken cue from this line and has come out openly to 'honour' the 'autonomy' and special status of Jammu and Kashmir as also to assure other states that in this particular field of defending the crisis-ridden capitalist system by anti-democratic, draconian measures, their 'autonomy' and initiatives will surely be honoured.

The line of thinking or the stand of CPI(M) is not far to seek. It is quite clear in its Polit Bureau Statement on the ordinance (People's Democracy of November 13, '77). The Polit Bureau of this party has found it "extremely unfortunate" as it comes from the government led by Sheikh, "who himself had been a victim of preventive detention". It therefore bears a striking similarity in tone and expression with those of the Janata leaders and even milder than the manner in which at least a section of the bourgeois press have reacted. Not only this, the statement says: "the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) is aware that certain elements are up to mischief and are trying to incite communal

trouble in Jammu and Kashmir". But CPI(M) Polit Bureau gives the advice to deal with them "politically" and "appeals to the Jammu and Kashmir Government, and specially Sheikh Abdullah" to withdraw the ordinance.

It is to be borne in mind in this connection that the Jammu and Kashmir Government in trying to justify the ordinance resorted to the plea of "communal elements" creating trouble and the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) has not forgotten to recapitulate it in its statement just to give an air of plausibility. From the entire tone and tenor of this statement nobody should be in doubt as to the real feeling and reaction of CPI(M) leadership particularly after their having developed, of late, a cordial and friendly relation with Sheikh Abdullah in particular. It is obvious from the statement that the Polit Bureau of CPI(M) takes meticulous care not to disturb, in the least, this relationship but at the same time maintain a posture of opposition and verbal protestations within the parliament to this autocratic measure. It, therefore, chooses such words of expression as 'unfortunate', makes reference to Sheikh's long imprisonment etc. and does not remind the people that the special status of Jammu and Kashmir state is not meant for bringing to life Emergency provisions violative of the fundamental and democratic rights and liberties of the citizens there, nor does it call the people to resist it. It avoids open and unequivocal condemnation of this draconian measure and leaves the matter entirely to the good senses of the Jammu and Kashmir Government and more specially to Sheikh Abdullah to whom it makes 'appeal'.

Has there anything like proletarian class approach and angularity in it, the 'Marxist' appellation of the party, notwithstanding?

It rather betrays the utterly opportunist attitude

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## It is only the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat that can guard and defend democratic rights of the toiling people

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of maintaining "friendship" with the bourgeois party that is bringing all these anti-democratic authoritarian measures and at the same time the figleaf of 'Marxism' or 'leftism' to deceive the masses.

This is not the solitary instance of utterly opportunist parliamentary politics of CPI(M). It is demanding abolition of MISA of the Central Government but it at the same time voted against our amended proposal in the West Bengal Assembly that till as long as that was there, the 'Left Front' Government should at least categorically declare that it would not use it. Our experience was the same on the question of application of the extraordinary powers under the 42nd amendment. CPI(M) voted down our amendment that West Bengal Government should not take advantage of those extraordinary powers so long they were there. On the contrary, the 'Left Front' Government took advantage of the extra-ordinary powers of the 42nd amendment in superseding the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education.

### The Lessons people should draw

All these facts reveal the truth that notwithstanding the difference in banner and vocabularies of these parliamentary parties, whichever among them may have been chosen by the bourgeoisie as an alternative to Congress, in its new device of "two-party system", either at the national plane or at the regional level, all of them are reflecting essentially, the same approach and attitude to the question of militant democratic mass movement, the question of so-called 'law and order' as also the most vital issue of fundamental

and democratic rights and liberties of the people.

This is bound to happen. The crisis-ridden bourgeoisie, in the midst of ever deepening third intense phase of crisis of the capitalist system can hardly afford to restore, let alone bringing further extension to, the democratic rights and liberties and relative neutrality in administration, which the people of our country used to enjoy, say, even a decade back. And whichever may be the party chosen and entrusted by the ruling bourgeoisie to defend its class rule is just translating this class desire of the ruling class. This is the truth, the whole truth.

A revolutionary party of the proletariat grasps this truth not empirically but well in advance from the scientific law of social development—from the class character of the state i.e. judging every move of the ruling bourgeoisie from the basic proletarian class approach and angularity. It also alerts and calls upon the toiling people to grasp this truth which gets verified and confirmed by every objective test, by concrete facts.

As the only revolutionary party of the proletariat in our soil, founded and taught by the great teacher of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** our party on the basis of the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, therefore, cautioned the people well in advance even before and immediately after the last parliamentary poll in the C. C. resolution of 6th April '77 that:

"The Central Committee notes that after a prolonged endeavour when for the first time the ruling bourgeoisie has been able to give birth to a 'two-party democracy', it will now make serious efforts to more and more squeeze the

## CITU is openly serving the ruling class

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only correct revolutionary leadership of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) which carries the revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great teacher of the proletariat.

Let us take another instance to see the role CITU, the trade union wing of CPI(M), has been playing since the 'Left Front' Government led by the latter has come in the state. In the Hindusthan National Glass Factory at

scope of legitimate democratic movements of the people by arresting them within the bounds of parliamentary politics or at best allow restricted form and nature of mass movements which will be conducive only to the parliamentary political objectives and will resort to diverse forms of fascism by maintaining, as far as possible, the facade of parliamentary democracy, even, if necessary, under the garb of 'two-party democracy'."

This political analysis of the situation of our country by our party is being vindicated daily by concrete developments and facts. The correctness of the ideological-political leadership of the party, founded by the great teacher of the proletariat and one of the foremost Marxist philosophers of the era, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** is bringing to the fore, the incontestible fact that it is the only party in our country that carries the Flag of the revolutionary proletariat, is genuinely interested to defend and guard the interest of the toiling people and their fundamental and democratic rights up to the point of bringing an end to this moribund capitalism and ushering a society free from all sorts of exploitation. In it alone, lies the hope of the exploited masses of our country. All other parties—parliamentary parties as they are, parties of *status quo*, will inevitably face the doom as will the moribund capitalist system—they all defend and try in vain, to protect.

Risra of Hooghly district in West Bengal, the workers rejected the old leadership of the AITUC led by CPI as it became notorious for its pro-employer activities. UTUC (Lenin Sarani) affiliated Union organised the workers this time in a heroic struggle against the management and its paid agents on the issues of 20% bonus and abolition of hated contract labour system. The Union gave the call of stay-in-strike before the factory gate. The workers set up camp outside the factory gate and were in high spirit to conduct the struggle with the help and assistance of common people in the locality.

This struggle created great enthusiasm among the toiling people in the locality in general and the workers of the neighbouring industrial belt in particular. What has been the role of CITU and more particularly of the CPI(M) leadership? They were found to be busy collecting local roughs and anti-social elements who were being handled by the INTUC or Congress leaders before. These anti-social elements and local roughs were given to the hands of the factory management and were kept within the factory compound. CPI(M) led CITU took the cover behind the discredited AITUC Union and was seen to be backing the rejected leaders of the latter organisation. So, a combination grew in this particular case between CPI(M) led CITU elements, CPI elements, management and police to break this strike.

The anti-socials were set against the striking workers with the help of police and CPI(M) leadership. They burnt the camp of the workers and even the red flag.

This dastardly act was perpetrated but this could in no way dampen the spirit of the struggling workers. Common people came in support of the workers. The organisers and leaders went to local

police station and even approached the local CPI(M) M. L. A to come in support of their just and legitimate struggle and to protest such attack on workers. But he did not. Instead, their experience was no different from what would have been during the Congress rule in the state. The police, instead of taking steps against the hooligans engaged in criminal activity, arrested the aggrieved workers.

So, this is the game that is going on in West Bengal under the 'Left Front' Government. The CPI(M) workers are moving hand in glove with the defaulting management and the police is coming at their beck and call not to side with the workers but to back the management to break the legitimate movement of the exploited workers.

Let us make a passing reference here to the Dock Strike, for a day, called by the H. M. S led union. The call was given to demand settlement of some outstanding grievances like payment of arrears and stoppage of deduction of house rent allowance from class-IV employees. CITU joined hands with INTUC and AITUC to oppose the strike. Not only this, the CITU people were found to be identifying the striking workers to the police for arrest. The experience of the workers is this that never before, such a huge deployment of police force to break their strike was made by any government. But this is the government of a 'Left Front' whose ministers boast that 'law and order' has not been maintained so successfully by any government. True, these are the concrete experiences from which the real lessons, the workers will have to draw to their good, in their search for and finding the real revolutionary leadership in SUCI.

## Notwithstanding Progressive Vocabularies CPI(M) is actually helping the vested class

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chain today. It is also not unknown that unless this powerful chain is broken, no word, however sweet can protect the interest of the poor peasants and the bargadars. Had the 'Left Front' Government been really pro-people and willing to safeguard the interest of the poor peasants, it would have (1) attempted to build up organised peasants' movements against the notorious chain and unite all those left and democratic parties and organisation that carry the traditions and have stood the test of democratic mass movements; 2) unequivocally declared that police shall not interfere in the legitimate democratic mass movements; 3) come forward to implement the decisions taken in favour of the poor peasants, bargadar, and the lower middle peasants depending not on police and bureaucracy but on peasants' organisations built up through mass movements. But the 'Left Front' Government has completely given up the path of mass struggle and has taken recourse to depending on that very police and administration which move hand in glove with the jotedars and vested interests. This proves once again that under cover of high sounding slogans, it, in reality is: 1) Trying to befool the people and pursuing a pro-jotedar policy at the cost of organised struggles of the poor peasants against the jotedars; 2) out to handle this powerful but hated chain of the jotedar-police-administration combine in their petty party interest just like the Congress and 3) trying to muster strong the massive support of the jotedars behind the Government.

"Its decision to form 'Block level committees' in the manner recommended also confirms this point. Its earlier decision to form these committees only with representatives of the constituents of the 'Left

Front' and their mass organisations had to be changed later on lest it were deprived of the total support of the jotedars. Simply on such apprehension and with a view to ensuring and mobilising the full support of the jotedars as a class it on second thought decided to take representatives of Congress and Janata Party as well in these committees. If the "Left Front" Government were really interested to protect the cause of the poor peasants and strike this notorious chain at its very root, it would not have surely excluded the SUCI, despite all ideological differences with it, which has behind it a long tradition of organising militant movements of the poor peasants, bargadars and the lower-middle peasants in the rural areas and which has at its command strong organisational bases in different areas. But as they found it necessary to exclude SUCI from the "Left Front" in the past with a view to serving the interest of the industrial monopoly capitalists at the cost of democratic mass movements so also they feel it very badly today to get rid of SUCI from these 'Block level committees' lest their goal of getting the support of the jotedars were gone. Simply being apprehensive, they have similarly raised the rotten logic of the 'recognised parties just like the die-hard parliamentarians in their bid to deliberately and motivatedly keep SUCI out of these committees. This fact really proves to the hilt how much scared they have become about the glorious anti-jotedar role of the SUCI. So, however much they clamour that Congress is their main enemy—does it not once again give an indirect pointer as to whom they really consider their main enemy!"

Our Party's exposure of the real character of the government's move and measures is awakening the poor and middle peasants to consciousness and even is finding

support from the rank and file members of the 'Left Front' constituents. Our Party has firmly stood behind the poor people in the countryside against the combined strength of the vested interest. This creates alarm and panick particularly in the CPI(M) leadership. Mr. Benoy Chowdhury, the Land Revenue Minister, in a press statement has accused our party of moving hand in glove with Congress and Janata Party to frustrate their 'progressive' policy. We feel sorry that if not any thing why should common-sense be a rarity in CPI (M) leadership. People know that CPI(M) has not hesitated to change its policy as regards forming committees at Block level. First, it declared forming such committee with constituents of Left Front only. And finally they

We regret that because of shortage of space we are unable to publish the report of the conference of KKMf, Haryana State held on 25th and 26th November 1977 in this issue. We shall publish the same in our next issue. —Ed. P. ERA

have included CPI, Janata Party and even Congress in that committee. The latter two according to CPI(M) represent the interest of the jotedars and other vested interest. They have excluded only our Party on flimsiest of pretext. Then who are moving hand in glove with Congress and Janata Party—SUCI which has been excluded from the committee or CPI(M)? The boot is on others leg. Sri Jyoti Basu is daily appealing to Sm. Purabi Mukherjee and Abedin, the state Congress leaders to co-operate with them and work in the committee and the latter are also reciprocating the same good feeling and still SUCI is moving hand in glove with these parties but not the CPI(M)! People are not fools, however much they may be so underestimated by CPI(M) leadership.

## Red Salute Comrade V. Natarajan

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party commune and could most happily and voluntarily surrender everything personal to the party.

Along with his colleagues, Comrade Natarajan played a very important role in building up our party in Kerala. To carry the great revolutionary thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to the vast masses of Kerala he played a very commendable role by translating some important works of **Comrade Ghosh** into Malayalam from English. As many invaluable works of **Comrade Ghosh** could not yet be published in English, Comrade Natarajan learnt Hindi with great care to translate **Comrade Ghosh's** works from Hindi to Malayalam, and with the same object started learning Bengali.

The party remembers with great respect and deep sense of admiration the revolutionary tasks carried out by Comrade Natarajan with an exemplary cultural tuning and calls upon all the Comrades to learn from his revolutionary dedication and devotion as well as from the revolutionary purposiveness that he reflected in all fields of his life's activities, particularly his consistent struggle for identification with the cause of revolution and party as taught by our great leader, teacher and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

The party also calls

However, summing up the discussions, we have made on the subjects, is there any difficulty to see that not only there is not an iota of truth in the claims CPI(M) is making but there is not a grain of truth in the propaganda campaign of CPI(M) against our party that our party is out to disturb their "progressive" policies, moving hand in glove with the Congress and the Janata Party. SUCI is the party founded by the great teacher of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to defend and advance the cause of the proletariat and other exploited strata

upon the Comrades to turn this profound grief into revolutionary purposiveness and to dedicate more and more to the cause of the party and revolution.

Immediately after receiving this heartbreaking news, Red Flag was flown half-mast at the Central Office at Calcutta, on 14th December noon.

In the same evening a Memorial Meeting was held at the Central Hall of the Party head quarter in a solemn atmosphere. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Party placed a wreath on the portrait of Comrade Natarajan and, in a brief but emotional speech, paid his deep respect to the revolutionary memories of Comrade Natarajan.

Comrade General Secretary urged upon all the comrades to face the situation in such a spirit that in the event of demise of any comrade fighting a disease or engaged in fighting back an enemy assault comrades should come forward with redoubled revolutionary energy, vigilance, dedication and initiative to fill the void created.

Comrade Krishna Chakravarty, narrated from his personal acquaintance how Com. Natarajan conducted dauntless struggle to apply the revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** in his life. The DYU music squad presented the Internationale and the song composed on our great leader.

to the path of emancipation and uphold the truth. Our party has stood the test and upholds today the class interest and aspiration of the proletariat despite all the canards and tirades of spineless social democracy that comes in rescue of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie. We have firm conviction in the cause of the proletariat, we have the firm foundation of the great revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** our great teacher and guide, we have firm faith in the people—the hue and cry and screamings of social democracy will fail to detract us from our goal.

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